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474 313 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed [687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 794 518 668 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later. Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis, and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

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sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[82] Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[82] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

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579 nothing had been done. Probably more than personal motives lay back of the killing, but it was impossible to discover them.

583 Marriage customs are another frequent source of conflicts reaching the mayor. Ordinarily a boy "kidnaps" the girl he is going to marry. The kidnapping is public and usually nothing is done about it, but the boy may be forced to marry the girl if he does not go through with the ceremony in a reasonable time. Occasionally, though, the girl's relatives make so much commotion that the mayor has [683] to act. If the kidnapping has been "legitimate," that is, the boy intends to marry the girl, usually the men participating in the kidnapping are thrown in jail for 2 or 3 hours and released with an admonition, almost certainly given with tongue in cheek.

583 In other cases the matter may become more serious, especially if it is exploited by the girl.
684 One example will illustrate the situation.

A boy stopped to talk with a girl of dubious morals. When he left, she followed him, saying she was going home with him. The boy ran away and hid. Later in the day the girl's parents came to the mayor and claimed the boy had kidnapped the girl. The boy was ordered

[text continues on top of p. 116b]

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

791 Religion in Cherán revolves about the church and the formalized practices and beliefs associated with it. In addition, there is a lively belief in witchcraft, plus a body of miscellaneous and unorganized beliefs and customs. In the main, the organized ceremonials, aside from those associated with life crises, which are dealt with in another section, are linked with the church and are group or community affairs. The ceremonials and rituals connected with witchcraft and miscellaneous beliefs are primarily individual in character and are not organized in any way, although there is a certain gradation between the two types of ceremonial with respect to organization.

794 The church ceremonials and rituals are of four types. Central to the system are those
796 church rituals and ceremonies which follow more or less conventional Mexican Catholic lines and are wholly under the direction of the

[text continues on middle of p. 116b]

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583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

123 The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
671 factory treatment of conflict situations and law. Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the ačes.

796 Forming a mixture of church and community
529 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

796 The *mayordomías* are the third important type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

796 dance groups dominated by the *cabildo* or the ačes. Although a Mass in church is involved, the ceremonies are conducted primarily by laymen. The ačes are related to the church organization proper on the one hand, and control the *carguero* system on the other.

The fourth and final type of ceremonial consists of *mayordomía* and dance groupings which are not under the control of the ačes. In some cases connection with the church is maintained to the extent of paying for a Mass, but neither the priest nor the ačes have any real control.

THE CHURCH

346 The physical aspect of the Church is represented by the church building, the priest's residence, and a chapel called the calvary. Formerly the physical structures were more extensive, including a second chapel at one side of the church, an extension of the priest's residence, and the hospital, now in ruins. As all the church property today belongs to the State, under the administration of the *municipio*, parts of these buildings and associated grounds have been taken over for other uses. Part of what was formerly the priest's residence now is used for the Federal rural school. The second chapel is used only in emergencies. It was employed as the church at a time when a new roof was being put on the church. At the time of this study it was rented to the tilemakers. The church building is reverenced [788] to some extent: men lift their hats as they pass in front of it on the street.

● 794 Maintenance of the structures still used by the church organization and the priest depends 358 upon voluntary contributions by the faithful. The municipal organization spends no funds on repair or maintenance of the church structures, although it may spend money on the parts used for the school. Some of the extensive patios formerly associated with the church are used for recreational areas; others are still used by the priest and are cultivated by him. Two wooden structures occupy part of the grounds, one used as a storehouse for certain ceremonial equipment and one used by the kéɨi, an official of the *cabildo* or ačes, as a residence.

346 The church building has obviously undergone a number of major alterations in its history. 358 Originally the church did not front on the

tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

There can be little doubt that Cherán is a strongly Catholic community. During the height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town who were opposed to Church domination in political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

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794 578 these men illustrates the situation clearly, particularly as it came to a head in 1940. That the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 578 794 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended, he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 177 793 Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are undoubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very outspoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

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and ceremonies. The ceremonies of the saints are sometimes called *mayordomías* as they are elsewhere in Mexico, although the term *cargo* is more common in Cherán. The elaborateness and expense of the ceremonies vary considerably. Some are virtually community functions or minor fiestas but held at the expense of the *carguero* or *mayordomo*. Others have very little expense attached to them. In many cases dance groups are associated with the *mayordomía*.

So far as could be learned, six of the saints and accompanying *mayordomías* "belong" to the *cabildo*. Four others are associated with particular professions (this is also true of some of the saints of the *cabildo*) and are "managed" by principals (*principales*). Another is managed by a group of principals but is not associated with a profession, while the final saint identified is owned by a private family. The saints belonging to the *cabildo* are San Isidro (of the farmers), San José (of the forest workers), Santa Inéz (of the cattle raisers), Santa Nieves or the Virgin of Snows, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Santo Niño or the Child Christ. Saints belonging to professions are San Antonio (of the *arrieros* or muleteers), San Rafael (of the merchants), San Anselmo (of the honey gatherers, with two separate images and ceremonies), and Santa Cecilia (of the musicians). Independent of any profession is the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings or Tres Reyes. The privately owned saint has no *mayordomía* properly speaking and is usually spoken of simply as the Miraculous Saint.

The *cabildo* is also known as the "ačes," meaning principal persons or things. In Spanish the *cabildo* is also known as the *principales*. The group consists of men who have occupied the offices of *colector* and *prioste* associated with the church. In the past the *cabildo* looked after many things connected with the church, including the collection and care of the tithes or gifts to the priest, cared for the saints in the church and the ornaments and decorations of the church, and brought the priests to Cherán during the period when religious functions were prohibited. Members also had charge of the *mayordomías* mentioned above, and considered the saints their property.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.
794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

796 same duties, but the *colector* is the superior of
794 the two. Their duties are to select and supervise the kéŋi and the matters of the church. The day-to-day expenses involved they must pay out of their own pockets (despite the charges against the *cabildo* to be reviewed later, no one denied this expenditure by the *prioste* and *colector*). The two officers receive the gifts of maize and wheat made to the church and give them to the priest, who in turn entrusts them to the kéŋi.

The kéŋi is selected by the *colector*. For 1 year he lives in a house on the church grounds (probably formerly in the hospital before it fell to ruins), cares for the church property and the stores of the priest, rings the church bells every noon, runs errands for the *colector*, and does any odd jobs he may be assigned. After 1 year he does not become a member of the *cabildo* but retires to private life.

During his year of office, the *colector* has to provide the kéŋi with the maize he needs for his family and some money for minor expenses. Usually the kéŋi is a man who has a grown son or a brother to look after his affairs for the year. Among the public outside of the church group it is not regarded as a great thing to be a kéŋi. The church group, on the other hand, make a good deal of the individual. Moreover, it is believed that the service is rendered to God and will bring recompense in the future life. The offices of kéŋi, *prioste*, and *colector* change each year on December 8. The main ceremonies circle about the change of kéŋi.

At one time the kéŋi began in the month of November to visit the *cargueros* of the saints belonging to the *cabildo* every Saturday early in the morning, accompanied by musicians. The *cargueros* served *posole*. By December 8, the kéŋi had visited all the saints, saying farewell to them. On this date a large lantern was suspended from a pole outside the house of the kéŋi and remained until the ceremonies of changing the kéŋi were concluded.

For the change of office, both the old kéŋi and the new provide themselves with "old men" or *viejos*. These are men dressed in an overcoat and with a cane. They carry a little bell adorned with flowers, wear a small hat, and a
[532] wooden *viejo* mask (a wooden mask carved to represent an old man with a long white beard).

796 794 These are the speakers for the two kéŋi. Each kéŋi (in conjunction with the new and retiring *prioστes*) has a band of music. Both the old and the new *prioste* invite friends and relatives to their houses for a meal. The *cabildo* goes to both places.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon both parties go to the house occupied by the kéŋi in the church grounds, still sometimes called the hospital despite the assertion of many that the kéŋi never lived in the hospital. The new kéŋi brings with him all the things he needs to set up housekeeping: new brooms, dishes, a *carga* of maize, the head of a beef, ax, metate, mats and clothes, all carried on burros. Arriving at the house, he finds all in disorder. The house is full of trash, the fireplace has been taken down, and everything has been left in the worst condition possible. The old kéŋi carries away everything he has used. Even old brooms and broken pots are saved through the year to be carried away at this time.

The two *viejos* or old men now begin to argue. The *viejo* representing the incoming kéŋi makes a long speech, criticising the administration of the outgoing kéŋi. The other *viejo* then responds, defending the outgoing kéŋi and explaining all the good things he has done. The two argue for some time. The music then plays a tune. First one and then the other dances; they endeavor to outdo one another, both in their ridiculous manner of dancing and in making jokes. Each is accompanied by a woman dressed as an old woman in a very much embroidered blouse and wearing a hat. Then the new officials inspect all the patio of the hospital; the new kéŋi enters the kitchen and takes possession. The old kéŋi goes out through the *zaguan* or gate with his belongings. The old kéŋi goes to the house of the old *prioste* with his friends and they drink until night. The new kéŋi and his *prioste* do the same in the hospital after the celebration of Mass.

Sometime during these events the *cabildo* elects the new *colector*. This official takes office on the 1st of January when he goes to church to celebrate the Circumcision. The new *colector* and his wife receive the benediction at the Mass. The wife of the *colector* carries with her an outfit of clothing for the Christ Child. After Mass the two go to the house of the new

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ké-i, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector* is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos* in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šuŋánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

Frequent references have been made to the quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest. The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

578 other group, although he was one of the few
793 active supporters of Almazán in the previous
presidential election. In the opinion of the best
794 informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *cargueros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

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578 794 793 With regard to the charge of drunkeness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéri, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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578 that never before had the church been closed
793 when the priest left town.
794 In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

578 794 793 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

578 tion of reopening the investigation and stated
793 that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get
794 rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánces* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánces* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

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776 from the ranchos came every year with dancers.
796 They spent 3 days in Cherán, dancing in the church and in the municipal building. Then they took the saint to the ranchos and it often was kept there many months. In 1940 the owners decided not to let the saint go any more because they wished to have it with them "as we have lost much time with it."

COMPARATIVE NOTES

796 Material collected from other towns suggests
794 that other types of *mayordomía* organization exist. In Angáhuan, Rendón found an elaborate hierarchy of officials, evidently corresponding to the *cabildo* and the associated organization at Cherán. In Angáhuan, according to Rendón, the officials are ranked as follows: *Alcalde, regidor,* kámbiti, petájpe and biskál, *mayores,* kiéni, anyítakua.

In addition, there is a group of elderly men, corresponding to the Cherán *cabildo,* who are known as *tarénpenya.* These are men who have served the above offices or part of them.

The *alcalde* and *regidor* correspond to the *prioste-colector* positions in Cherán apparently. The *alcalde* is in charge of the church for 1 year. During this time he has to hold six fiestas. The first is at New Year's, when he receives his post and when he must provide food and *aguardiente.* The second is carnival, when he is aided in the expenses by the *"cabildo"* (it is not clear from Rendón's notes whether this means the same as it does in Cherán). The third is the day of the Holy Cross when he must pay for two bands and there is the dance of the moors and soldiers. The *alcalde* provides food for the dancers. The latter dance in the houses of various functionaries. The fourth fiesta is Corpus, at which time all the members of the different occupations take miniatures of their products and dance with them before the church and also perform their offices. The fifth fiesta is that of Santiago (the patron saint), when there is music, dancers, and also bull riding. For this fiesta the *alcalde* pays for the Masses and gives food to the dancers. The final fiesta is the day on which the *alcalde* is chosen by the elders.

The *regidor* is the helper of the *alcalde* and aids him in every way possible. The relatives of the *alcalde* also assist him with food.

796 794 The duties of the kámbiti are to pay the expenses of the Holy Week festivities and to decorate the front of the main altar with fruits from the hot country, such as bananas, watermelons, mameys, coconuts, mangoes, and sugarcane. The fruits are suspended in small nets or are perforated and hung from strings. The ceremony is called uirímutakua, which means "to adorn the front of something."

On Holy Saturday the young people of the town divide in two groups and go through the town, the girls carrying an image of Mary Magdalene, the men one of Saint Joseph. At strategic points the two groups meet and have races with the images. Certain young girls also place themselves at the door of the church during Holy Week and offer the refreshments known as čarápes to all comers. These girls must change the flowers on the altars during the ensuing year and are known as cacaki jaćirati. All these ceremonies are regulated by the kámbiti.

The petájpe gathers the young men at his house in February and feeds them *"esquite,"* of the type known as kanita takunji. At this [312] time he announces the date for cleaning the spring from which the town gets its water. The day the spring is cleaned, the petájpe provides music and rice, beans, and pork for the helpers at his house. At the spring, many families go along and take picnic food, singing and enjoying themselves while the young men clean the spring. When the spring is cleaned, they carry *ollas* of water to their houses, using it as drinking water in preference to water from the pipes until it is gone.

There are no data on the office of biskál. Rendón's notes suggest that the offices of petajpe and biskál are the same.

To reach the office of *mayor*, one must give a fiesta to the patron saint and appear as a moro dancer. The moros dance on December 25 and 26 in the houses of the elders. On the 24th they worship in the church. *Mayores* must aid their superiors with firewood and their wives grind and carry water when the *alcalde* or kámbiti or petájpe hold a fiesta.

The kié,i has similar duties to the ké,i of Cherán. He is entrusted with the care of the church and follows the orders of the *alcalde* in cleaning and adorning the structure. He

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796 has under his orders the anyítakuas or *"semaneros."*
794 The latter are those in charge each week of the hospital or *yurišo*. This duty rotates by street blocks. Each week seven or eight families must go to a house beside the church and one of the group prepares food for the remainder and for any sick persons in the town. This service occurs about every 3 months. Those whose service occurs the first 2 weeks in December must provide a group of *pastorela* dancers; those whose service is the second 2 weeks must provide a competing group. The dancers perform December 24, 25, 26, and 31. Dances of the "little old men," *viejitos*, are associated with the *pastorelas*.

See Appendix 2 for further comparative data.

DANCES

796 The dances performed at Cherán are all associated with some religious festival. Or-
535 ganization of the majority of them is part of the duties of the *mayordomo*, although the moros are connected with the fiesta, while a number of unorganized independent dances are given around December 25. At least three of the dances have spoken parts and are essentially dramatic performances. All center around the birth of Christ, December 25, and the visit of the Three Kings, January 6. The greatest public interest, however, seems to attach to the dance of the moros, connected with the fiesta of the patron saint. Participation in dances is voluntary, although vows may be taken by an individual, or a child may be promised to a dance by its parents.

THE MOROS

The dance of the *moros* (Moors) is widespread among the Tarascan towns and generally appears to be associated with the fiesta of the patron saint. Usually only four dancers appear. In Cherán, commissioners are named, each seeking a dancer and providing the costume and the horse ridden by the moro part of the time. Good horses are sought and one that will "dance" to the music is especially desirable.

The *moros* wear a pair of trousers extending part way down the calf of the leg and slashed to the knee on the outside. These trousers are usually of velvet with rich decoration in

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 623 formed a council of elders who controlled community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 171 621 This is the system which seems to be typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17] where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 771 Native religion before the Spanish conquest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor (clans, trades, towns, etc.). 175 797 [778] After the Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 794 Every Indian community was provided with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 796 Very important in this new religion were the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 771 Part of the native religion not related to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

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and the native elements incorporated into the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

* * *

That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

The Decline of the Village Community

Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.

The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish conquest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mortmain by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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796 Different towns have reputations for
535 giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships (*mayordomías*) in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor (*mayordomo*) the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
796 vanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks (*castillo*) or bull riding (*jaripeo*).

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

● 794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 175 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1563, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He [743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called hospital. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos- [794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1906, 301-2, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 188-194.

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the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuatiso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

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mon property of the cofradía, collected contributions and made their own donations. Thus they financed and organized the main religious festivals of the community and attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

To care for the Virgin there were a number of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[30] Many differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

30. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1904, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called *colector* as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

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175 794 575 624 Besides the cargueros of the hospital there were other religious officers. Sodalities other than those of the hospitales with funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes, fiesteros,* or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 794 651 Financing the cult involved payment of alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 743 423 575 794 In the eighteenth century, many of the hospitales had property devoted to the support of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the village commons. One of the cargueros or a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 743 423 575 794 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21] When the village's hospital had good property, this financed not only the cult and fiesta expenses but also other duties of the hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the cargueros could use this same source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 796 735 794 The financial obligations of the cargos were specially onerous and sometimes led the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*, the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirviente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

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21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. *Ibid.*, 478.
30. *Ibid.*, 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 479.

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The effect of excessive cult expenses on Indian poverty was strong enough to lead the subdelegate (Spanish district authority) to give instructions against it. He recommended avoiding those banquets and superfluities based on the pretext of church festivals. In the case of Amatlan, he directed that no personal service should be given the priest other than that of sexton and bellman.[33]

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The civil administration conformed to general practice in colonial Mexico. Every Indian town was headed by a *gobernador*. There were also one or more *alcaldes* (mayors) and a number of *regidores* (councilmen), according to the size of the town. Minor officials seem to have been more variable: *alguaciles*, similar officers called *katápi* in Tarascan, errand boys *(topil)*, and a scribe.

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An important characteristic of this civil organization was its close connection with the cult organization. For as long as the union of State and Church lasted (until the middle of the nineteenth century), the obligations of the village toward the priest and the cult had the sanction of the civil authorities who approved the church fees *(aranceles)*. The higher civil authorities also intervened in the regulation of cult activities.[34] The village civil officers had also some religious obligations in sponsoring certain festivals or in contributing to the support of the priest.[35]

The custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder (Spanish, *principal*; Tarascan, *t'aɪépiti*) seems also to have been present. Evidence for the eighteenth century is lacking. Only for the village of Cutzeo we know that the principales were those who had passed through the office of governor, and that *atole* (cornmeal) for their Saturday meetings was made by the semaneros in the hospital. Today, however, traits of the surviving religious organization suggest the former existence of this connection between civil and religious officers. The group of elders is called *cabildo*, which originally meant 'town council', although it can also mean sodality council. In Cherán, principales are those who have passed through the offices of prioste and colector. In Angahuan also, religious offices have to be held before one becomes alcalde or member of the cabildo.[36]

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33. Osbourn Ms.
34. Osbourn Ms.; Estado, 1944, *passim*.
35. The governor in Ario, Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.), Coeneo (Rivera, 1868, 332, 334), San Francisco (Ocampo, 1900, 387); the councilmen in Tancítaro (Osbourn Ms.).
36. Beals, 1946, 122, 143.

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624 More detailed information comes from
794 Chilchota. Here a man was first mayordomo of the hospital, then mayordomo of the patron saint, later mayordomo of his barrio's saint, and then *vaquero* (another religious office) in order to become councilman *(regidor)*. Thereafter he was one of the elders.[37] Data from Pichátaro also seem to indicate religious office as prerequisite for eldership, but the facts are not clear.[38]

To judge from modern survivals, nomination of the new officers was made by the acting officers together with the elders. It was customary to ask for a cargo because of a religious vow or the desire to advance in the social scale. The elders could in addition ask any man to join in their duties.[39] Petitioning for office seems to have been accompanied by taking presents to the elders or councilmen, in typical Indian fashion.

Decline of the Traditional Organization: Anticlericalism and Catholic Reaction

175 At the end of the eighteenth century,
794 then, the heavy cult expenses were caus-
735 ing the impoverishment of the Indians in those villages, which, through work in the haciendas, were more related to the national economy and which had no communal property, or not enough, devoted to the upkeep of the cult. In their turn the impoverished villages had to reduce the number of festivals because they were unable to meet expenses, and the authorities tried to suppress excessive expenses in some festivals and personal services to the priests.

175 For the nineteenth century there is no
794 survey of the Tarascan area comparable to that for the end of the eighteenth. Only for the turn of the century is information again available. Since this is the period of
423 further growth of the haciendas and loss of village communal property — factors which already were causing instability in the cult organization and the end of the colonial period — we can safely assume that the same trend continued during the nineteenth century. Looking into the modern situation we see that the communal property devoted to support of the cult is practically nonexistant. Only some cattle are still devoted to Saint Ines in Cherán. In Chilchota, keeping cattle for the Virgin is still remembered[40] and pro-

37. *Ibid.*, 215.
38. León, 1906, 427.
39. Beals, 1946, 123 (for Cherán); 218 (for Chilchota).
40. *Ibid.*, 216, 139.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.309] NU34 Tarasco NU84
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175
794 duce from the tule grounds in Jarácuaro
423 was used until a short time ago to buy wax for the church.

Financing the cult is now effected almost exclusively by individual contributions
794 from cargueros or the townspeople at large. Indian impoverishment caused by
735 attending to religious festivals is reported again by Lumholtz for Cherán at the turn of the century.[41] Since villagers were able, because of the individualization of landownership, to sell or pawn their lands to outsiders, the possibility of the cult expenses' hastening the loss of Indian properties undoubtedly increased. This is alive in the memory of many people today, for example in La Cañada, Urapicho, Uricho, and Arocutin.

624 The period of Mexican Independence up to the present time has produced a number of changes in the organization of local government. These changes cannot be followed in detail, for no study is available on local government in Mexico.

Today, the office of governor has disappeared without leaving any trace in modern organization. *Regidores* is today another name for the *municipes* (councilmen)[42] but no data are available as to whether they are a continuation from the colonial officers. Alcaldes were in existence at least until the end of the nineteenth century.[43] During the Porfirio Díaz period, government policy gave almost all direct control to the head (*jefe político*) of each district. After the Revolution a turn was taken toward the free township (*municipio libre*), and local governments secured more autonomy. Every municipio in Michoacan is now governed by elected councilmen, one of whom acts as municipal president and another as an executive (*síndico*). A judge and his alternate are also elected. There are in addition an appointed secretary, a treasurer, and policemen.

As each municipio includes a number of villages, the above officers are found only in the head town of each, although they may come from one of the dependent villages. Most villages being dependent (*tenencias*) have only a chief (*jefe*) with his alternate and a judge. Any survival from the old organization is not part of the official government but only of the folk organization of the cult.

The names of some of the religious of-

41. Lumholtz, 1902, 2:308.
42. Beals, 1946, 105; Foster, 1948, 178.
43. Constituciones, 1902, 404, 414-415; Lumholtz, 1902, 2:301.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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624 ficers (*regidor* in Chilchota, *alcalde* and *regidor* in Angahuan)[44] indicate that they were civil authorities, but the duties of those officers are today purely religious. It seems that with changes in local administration the old civil offices, instead of disappearing, were kept because of their religious obligations and became members of the unofficial group of cargueros organizing the cult.

794 The nineteenth century in Mexico has seen conflict between the Church and the 175 State. This undoubtedly influenced the local cult organization. Unfortunately, not enough material is available and further investigation is necessary. Before the separation of Church and State, the Government, whose approval of the Bishop's *aranceles* was necessary, tried to reduce the church fees and to suppress other kinds of tribute which the Indian had to pay to the priest. Two of the *pindecuarios* (Coeneo and San Francisco) have been published by radical authors of attacks against the Church.[45] The different aranceles in effect in Michoacan have been mentioned by León.[46] By the law of April 1857, the fees were suppressed for the poor, and personal services for the priest, together with all other special contributions, were abolished.[47]

Shortly thereafter, the separation of Church and State took place. It is supposed that this also helped the separation of religious and civil functions in the villages, but no direct data are available on the effect of national policies on the local organization of Indian communities in Michoacan.

621 In spite of these changes, which occurred during the nineteenth century, the organization of conservative Tarascan towns is still very similar to the old. The following short outline will point out the main changes and will provide a basis on which to describe modern trends of change.

The close union of Church and State in colonial Mexico corresponded in the local culture to the organization of the hospital offices and council of elders, which connected the civil government and the church organization. As a result of the separation of Church and State, and the new civil administration, the political and religious organization of Tarascan villages consists, on the one side, of the new civil

44. Beals, 1946, 215, 216, 142.
45. Ocampo, 1900; Rivera, 1868.
46. León, 1906, 434 ff.
47. Pérez, 1888, 191-3.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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621 officers mentioned above, whose religious duties are few, and on the other, of the priest and his aides.

624 The traditional organization based on the hospitales survives with the same officers as of old, under the name of *cabildo*, but 794 it has lost many of its connections with the civil government and the priest. It is a group of cargueros, officers who organize certain festivals entirely through their own resources, help the priest in the maintenance of his household and the church, and name the next cargueros. The importance of this cabildo in the village is variable. In some places it is still the main religious body, as in Angahuan,[48] while in others it has receded and almost disappeared, as in Tzintzuntan, where it is called *cargueros de la kengueria*.[49] Cherán represents an intermediate stage, with the cabildo losing much of its former importance. The attitude of the local priest in relying on local customs or doing without them in the organization of his household and church is an important factor in determining the importance of the cabildo (or of similar cargueros) at any given moment.

There are other groups (*mayordomías*) sponsoring the cult of various saints; they are independent of each other and of the town government. The expenses are met individually by each mayordomo, who is replaced when an individual asks for his position (usually to fulfil a vow) either of the priest or of the outgoing mayordomo or owners of the saint. The civil authorities also intervene in the organization of the church aspects of some festivals and they name commissioners to organize them.

793 The local priest takes care of the liturgical celebrations. For their organization 794 and church upkeep he can rely on the traditional cabildo or he can name commissioners when the occasion requires it. Also under his direction are a number of religious societies whose members engage primarily in acts of devotion and have few obligations as to the festivals or their expenses. The priest can also give the mayordomía of a saint belonging to the church.[50]

794 Communal property for the cult of the saints is practically non-existent. The financing and organization can be done either by the individual sponsor (carguero) who assumes all obligations personally or

48. Beals, 1946, 142.
49. Foster, 1948, 201-2.
50. Beals, 1946, 119; Foster, 1948, 202-204.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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794 by commissioners (*comisionado, encargado*) named by the priest or the town council for a given task. In this case the time required is less and also the contributions, the expenses being met by the town or ward (barrio) and the commissioner acting as collector.

794 668 798 Changes in recent years have been, on the one hand, the rise of an anticlerical movement among the agraristas, aiming at suppressing the cult. On the other hand, in the conservative communities trying to preserve the cult, changes can be described in terms of the decline of the cabildo, increased intervention by the priest or town council, and the change from individual sponsor to commissioner.

* * *

The accumulation of causes giving rise to a movement against the organization of the cult and the cargos had thus been going on for a long period of time when the Mexican agrarian revolution began to be influential in Michoacan. The local participation of Tarascan villages in the movements for agrarian reform has been outlined in the previous chapter. The local agraristas became supporters of the national revolutionary governments from which they expected to receive lands. Both the national and the local situations also combined to produce an anticlerical policy on the part of the agraristas.

Social studies in Michoacan have been limited to peasant communities, and no good study is available on the haciendas and the cities. Consequently there is no good information as to the way in which the anticlerical policy of the government was evident in Michoacan. In Mexico at large the official Church has been connected with the traditional landowner class, which explains the anticlerical policies of the government. In Michoacan we can assume the same situation prevailed, for we know that the church here, too, opposed the government's agrarian reforms.[81] Anticlericalism appears on the one hand as the influence of governmental policies. On the other hand, the local situation is of paramount importance and only in those places where local conditions provided a basis for it has anticlericalism gained any stronghold.

[735] Financing the traditional cult had been the cause in many villages for Indian impoverishment and the loss of land to a few rich or to outsiders. This fact led the

81. Foster, 1948, 173.

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668 agrarista groups to identify the cult and
794 the festivals with the land order against
798 which they were revolting. Thus the local situation tied itself up with the national anticlerical policy of the government.

The agraristas kept the priest out of town and closed the church. If it had been burned during the Revolution they did not rebuild it,[52] or they used the church and the priest's house for other functions such as social centers or schools.[53] Cargos and fiestas were forbidden as they were seen to be the causes of excessive expenditures and drunkenness.[54]

We have already presented the causes for the failure of the agraristas to maintain their power in villages where small landowners prevailed. The agraristas became [565] an exclusive privileged minority, opposed to the interest of most of the villagers. Their anticlerical policies also led them to reforms in an aspect of culture—religion and festivals—which were deeply ingrained in the traditional culture. Resistance to their economic policies thus became associated with resistance to culture change. In such conservative villages, reaction against the agraristas was always prevalent,[55] and it had a militant Catholic ideology. Even during the period of the most strongly antichurch policy of the government, some villagers managed to hide a priest,[56] and others, like Cherán, smuggled one in to say mass in private houses without the anticlerical minority's being strong enough to dare speak.[57]

Still in other more conservative villages 791 the lack of a priest led not to obsolescence of religion, but to manifestations of folk religion which the priests would not have allowed. In Ocumicho, a woman called María Doncella (Mary the Maiden) claimed to have heard the voice of God in a slit stone in a ravine near the village. The news spread throughout the region and many people began to come to Ocumicho in pilgrimage. María Doncella baptized the children herself and songs were made to her in which she was called the daughter of God. Once she said that the Virgin of Cocucho had come to Ocumicho and taken the patron San Pedro with her, and she organized a procession of people to go to Cocucho and pray to have San Pedro come back. According to skeptical informants

52. Urapicho: Beals, 1946, 121.
53. Tzurumútaro, Puácuaro.
54. Sáenz, 1936, 96; Simpson, 1937, 467.
55. Sáenz, 1936, *passim*; Foster, 1948, 175.
56. Tzintzuntzan: Foster, 1948, 175, 224.
57. Beals, 1946, 119.

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791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the government's limitation of priests, groups of
794 *cristeros*, in revolt against the government, operated in Michoacan.[58]

178 From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 178.
59. Beals, 1946.

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668 the cabildo is neither official nor related
178 to the national or state government.
794 Correspondingly, there are people — we shall call them traditionalists — for whom religion means fundamentally the festivals to the saints, organized by the cargueros and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, i. e., on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

668 178 794 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking). They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 124 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, 143-44, 218-19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 391-392.

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668 178 794 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing secularization of the main festivals. It takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 794 The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there [624] is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 130-137; Foster, 1948, 204*ff*, 215*ff*.
65. Beals, 1946, 106, 130.
66. Foster, 1948, 198, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 130, 138, 137.

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uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

In spite of the changes devised to preserve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

This new trend away from folk festivals and toward a closer dependence on the priest is, therefore, also one toward both more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. *Ibid.*, 136, 138, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 131.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-185, 188.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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668 178 794 some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

688 Failure to fulfill obligations toward God brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

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CONCLUSIONS

The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 178 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 182 178 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic impact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be [794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a [735] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 178 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it condemns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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535 a clockwise direction (see "a," Fig. 1). The tempo and nature of the music then change and the dancer in the center (the *pendonpasi*) makes a half turn to the left and dances around each of the two back Huananchichas, then circles each of the remaining two dancers in the center row, first one and then the other. Next the front Huananchichas are circled and the *pendonpasi* returns to the center and turns once to the right in place (see "b," Fig. 1). Now the two back Huananchas move forward. The one on the left crosses the one on the right behind the *pendonpasi* and continues to circle first the dancer to the right of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the Huananchicha in the left front. After this she returns to her place in the back left corner. Her partner in the meantime is circling the dancer to the left of the *pendonpasi* in the same row and then the right front Huanancha and is returning to her place in the back right corner (see "c," Fig. 1). Next, the two Huananchichas in the front proceed in approximately the same fashion, except that instead of circling the two rear Huananchas they skirt them without completing the circle (see "d," Fig. 1). When they have returned to their places, the remaining two center dancers start to do their "turns." These involve circling first the front Huanancha opposite their standing position and then the back Huanancha who is standing on the diagonal from this, and finally returning to their starting places (see "e," Fig. 1). When this is completed all dancers take a half turn in place clockwise and return to starting position counterclockwise (see "f," Fig. 1), then the three center dancers step close together, the rear Huananchichas come up beside them (see "g," Fig. 1) and together they march slowly forward between the two front Huananchichas, bringing all into one straight line (see "h," Fig. 1). At this point the girls are given a large bowl full of confetti and small hard candies which they throw to the assembled guests of honor who are at the front of the dance area.

The dance is supposed to be performed twice in public, once at the church or in the street in front of the church, and once for the mayor of the town and such visiting dignitaries as may be invited to observe the performance in the mayor's office. In 1948 no performance of the dance took place in the street; the priest came to the mayor's office to watch the dancing there. Following this the girls, sometimes their mothers and always a group of older women in whose charge the dancers are, go to call on the important merchants and dance for them. After this, the dance is performed at the home of each of the dancers. The neighbors all crowd into the patio to watch. There is no set time for arriving on these rounds, so no special preparations can be made. One simply hears the music coming down one's street, and if interested follows it to its destination. If you happen to have one of the dancers in your own family the assumption is that the group will come to your patio eventually. The older women who escort the dancers were, in the past, the organizers of the fiesta, and during the year they used to help to keep the church in good order and decorated. These women also used to operate a "hospital" (after the models first established by Don Vasco de Quiroga in the 16th century) near the church. Supposedly their presence with the dancers is to serve as chaperones for them, although some of the residents were heard to comment that the opposite may

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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SESIHÁNGARI

Historical Comment

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tarascan kingdom extended into the present states of Jalisco, Colima, and Guerrero, and thereby reached its greatest limits of expansion. King Zuangua (called Singuangua in the following legend of Sesihángari) ruled over this vast area not only as the highest political authority but also as the representative and incarnation of the primordial god Curicaueri. Thus he had the twofold responsibility of ruling the country and maintaining the cult of the god.

In respect to this latter duty, the king had a woman known as the *quataperi* who supervised all the women of the royal household, including the group comprised of daughters of important men of the empire. These women passed their days preparing items to be used as offerings to the god and were permitted to leave the royal enclosure only at the time of fiestas.

The story of one of these young women is a Tarascan tradition that was carefully and secretly transmitted from generation to generation, never being disclosed to outsiders until the wars of revolution in the early nineteenth century. At that time it became known when the Indians openly applauded the noble virtues displayed by Sesihángari in the face of adversity. As thousands of their countrymen fell into more desperate circumstances, this legend was popularized. Sesihángari's acceptance of death for that which she held dear in the face of evil oppression became a staunch subject of reference for the nineteenth-century Indian revolutionaries.

The Legend

Sesihángari, the strikingly beautiful daughter of the cacique of Patamban, was brought to the Purépecha court. Upon her arrival in the royal city of Tzintzuntzan, the ladies of the court crowned her with flowers on the steps of the palace and dressed her in a

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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the dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uaxcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mo[illegible]nd the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends